

(4)
DECLARATION

OF THE

ARMY

OF

ENGLAND.

Upon their March into

SCOTLAND.

AS ALSO, Robert Mylne

A Letter of his EXCELLENCY
the Lord Generall

CROMWELL,

To the Generall Assembly of the
Kirk of SCOTLAND.

Together with a Vindication of the aforesaid Declara-
tion, from the uncharitable Constructions,
seditious Imputations, and scandalous Aspersions of the
Generall Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland,
in their Reply thereto.

And also a Survey of the Under-Officers and Soldiers of the
Army, as a Paper directed so forth from the people of
Scotland.

Printed in London, and reprinted at Edinburgh
by James Tyler, 1650.

DECLARATION

OF THE

ARMY

OF

SCOTLAND

IN FAVOR OF

THE HONORABLE
THE GENERAL

OF THE

OF THE GENERAL

OF THE GENERAL

OF THE GENERAL

OF THE GENERAL

A DECLARATION of the ARMY
of England, upon their march
into Scotland.

To all that are Saints, and Partakers
of the Faith of GODS Elect
in Scotland.



WE the Army of England, do from the bottom of our Hearts with like *Mercy* and *Truth*, *Light* and *Liberty* with our selves, from God our Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ.

Although we have no cause to doubt, but that the Declaration of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, bearing date the 26. of June, 1650. and published, to manifest to the World the Justice and Necessity of sending their Army into Scotland, may satisfie all impartiall and uninterested men in all the Nations round about us (the matters of Fact therein contained being true, and the Conclusions made from thence, and the Resolutions thereupon taken, agreeable to the Principles of Religion, Nature and Nations) and therefore it may seem to some, if not improper, yet superfluous, for us their Army to say any more: Yet however, out of our tenderneſſe towards you, whom we look upon as our Brethren, and our desire to make a distinction and separation of you from the rest, as who through the cunning practices of some wicked and designing men, byassed by particular Interests,

or for want of a true and right Information, and Representation of the great and wonderful Transactions wrought amongst us, and brought to passe by the meer finger of our G O D, may possibly be scandalized at some late actions in *England*, and thereby be involved in that common Cause, so much from Heaven declared against, by blasting all persons and parties that at any time, in the least, under what pretence or disguise soever engaged therein, and so with them to become partakers of their Miseries.

We have therefore thought fit to speak to some particulars, and that as in the presence of the Lord, (to whose Grace, and in the dread of whose Name we do most humbly Appeal; and who (should we come to a day of Engagement) will be a sore witness against us, if we utter these things in hypocrisie, and not out of bowels of love, to perswade the Hearts and Consciences of those that are godly in *Scotland*) that so they may be withdrawn from partaking in the sin and punishment of evill doers: or that, at least, we might exonerate our selves before God and Man, do Remonstrate as followeth:

And for as much as we believe many godly people in *Scotland* are not satisfied with the proceedings of this Nation concerning the death of the late King, the rejection of his Issue, the change of the Government, and severall actions conversant thereabout. Although it cannot be supposed that we shall in this Paper meet with all Objections that may be made, (these very particulars alone requiring more lines then we intend in the whole) Yet we briefly say, That we were engaged in a War with the said King, for the Defence of our Religion and Liberties; and how many times Propositions for a safe and well grounded Peace were offered to him, and how often he refused to consent thereto, you well know, which according to humane accompt he might have closed with, had not the righteous God, who knoweth the deceitful heart of man, and is the Preserver of Mankind, (especially of his people) in his secret judgement, denyed him a heart to assent thereto. By which Refusals he made it appear, That nothing lesse would satisfie, then to have it in his own power to destroy Religion and Liberties, the subversion whereof he had so often attempted: That He was a man guilty of more Innocent Blood in *England, Ireland*

land and Scotland, even of those he ought to have preserved, as a Father his Children, then any of his Predecessors, or (we think) then any History mentionerh, the guilt whereof he brought upon his Family by solemn Appeals to God: That the Son did tread in the Fathers steps, and pursue his Designes, destructive to Religion and Liberty : That a party in Parliament, false to God and to their trust, were willing, and did endeavour to betray the Cause into the late Kings hands : That a remaining number in Parliament, desiring to be true to God, and to the People that intrusted them, (out of Integrity of Heart, and fearing that the high Displeasure of God would fall upon them if they had not done it.) did bring to Justice and cause to be executed, the said King ; did reject the Person now with you, did lay aside the House of Lords, (an Estate not representing the People, nor trusted with their Liberties, yet at that time very forward to give up the Peoples Rights, and obstruct what might save them, and alwayes apt enough to joyn with Kingly Interest against the Peoples Liberties, whereof we wish you have not the like sad experience) and did, for the good of the People, resolve the Government into a Commonwealth. And having done all this, that they are not accountable to any other Nation, is sufficient to say to you, except it be to excite you to rejoyce in this wonderful work of God, and to be thankful to him for so much Deliverance as you have thereby, and leave the rest to the *State of England*, to whom it doth onely and properly belong, who have manifested their regular proceedings therein, according to the true and equitable intent of the constitution of *England*, and the Representatives of the People in Parliament, in their severall and respective Declarations, if they be looked into, to which we refer you. Besides, it is worthy consideration, with how many Providences this *Series of Action* hath been blest, which would require a Volume to recount.

If Treaties be urged against us, It is easie to say by whom they were broken, and how eminently, even by the then full authority of the Parliament of *Scotland*, and the Invasion by Duke *Hamilton*, and yet that not the first breach neither. And if it be said, That hath been protested against, and revoked since ; We ask, Doth that make up the breach, so as to challenge *England* still upon Agreements and Articles; you know, as to Right it

doth not, except you suppose that *England* made their bargain so, That *Scotland* might break, and *England* remain bound; whereas it is a known Law of Nations, That in the breach of the League by the one party, the other is no longer obliged.

If the Covenant be alleaged against us, this may be said by us with honesty and clearnesse, Religion having therein the first place, civil Liberties the next, the Kings Interest and constitution of Parliament the last, and these with subordination one to another: The Covenant tyed us to preserve Religion and Liberty, as the ends of it, even when these were inconsistent with the preservation of the Kings Interest, and the frame of Parliament; because when the means and the end cannot both be enjoyed together, the end is to be preferred before the means. Now that there was a real inconsistency between the end and the means, and that the lesser did fight against the greater, is your own judgement. who a Book of yours, called, *A necessary and seasonable Testimony against Toleration*, say thus of the two Houses, pag. 12. *And doubtlesse, the Lord is highly displeased with their Proceedings in the Treaty at Newport, in reference to Religion and Covenant: concerning which, they accepted of such Concessions from His Majesty, as being acquiesced in, were dangerous and destructive to both.* Had we not then appeared against these Concessions, and likewise against those of both Houses who acquiesced in them, had not Religion and Liberty both been destroyed? which now by the blessing of God are preserved. And if that action concerning the Parliament deserve a Charge, yet least of all from your selves, who when you saw the Parliament which sent Duke Hamilton with an Army into *England*, proceed in ways destructive to Religion and Liberty, you countenanced and acted with those that rose up for publique Saferie, though contrary to Acts of Parliament, and called a new one, excluding whom you thought fit: all which was done by vertue and authoritie from the Committee of Estates then sitting at *Edinburgh*, which indeed was no Committee (if you respect formalities) (the breach whereof you so often charge upon us) being constituted of such persons, as by Act of the fore-going Parliament, had not legal right to sit or act therein; they not having taken the Oath (for faithful discharge

discharge of the Trust reposed in them, in reference to the late Engagement against *England*, enjoined by that Parliament to be taken by every Member of the Committee at his first sitting, or else to have no place or vote therein, as is fully set down in the Commission for the constituting of that Committee of Estates. We could more particularly set forth how the Committee of Estates there sitting, according to the literal sense of the afore-mentioned Commission, was broken and driven away, by that force raised and acted by you as aforesaid: but we spare, not seeking to justify our actions by yours, but to shew, that you have done the same things for preservation of Religion and Liberty, which you so highly charge as evil upon us. And therefore, we further desire you seriously to consider, That the inconsistency of our Religion and Liberties, with the Kings Interest and former constitution of Parliament, did not arise from our jealousies or pretences, but from the hardnesse of the Kings heart, and the backsliding of the greater part of those that were intrusted in the Parliament, by their acquiescing in those Concessions, and endeavouring immediately to bring in the King upon them. We therefore reckon it no breach, but a Religious keeping of the Covenant according to the equity thereof; when our Parliament for Religion and Liberties sake, and the Interest of the People, did remove the King and Kingship: As also we assert our selves *Keepers of the Covenant*, when the competition hath been between the form and substance, if we have altered some forms of the Government in part, for the substance sake.

As for the *Presbyterial*, or any other form of Church Government, they are not by the Covenant to be imposed by force; yet we do, and are ready to embrace so much as doth or shall be made appear to us to be according to the Word of God. Are we to be dealt withall as Enemies, because we come not to your way? Is all Religion wrapt up in that, or any one Form? Doth that name, or thing, give the difference between those that are the Members of Christ, and those that are not? We think not so. We say, Faith working by love, is the true Character of a Christian; and, God as our witness, in whomsoever we see any thing of Christ to be, there we reckon our duty to love, waiting for a more plentiful effusion of the Spirit of God to make all

all those Christians, who by the malice of the World are diversified; and by their own carnall mindednesse do diversifie themselves by severall Names of Reproach, to be of one heart and one minde worshipping God with one consent. We are desirous, That those who are for the Presbyteriall Government, should have all freedom to enjoy it; and are perswaded, That if it be so much of God, as some affirm, if God be trusted with his own means, which is his word powerfully and effectually preached, without a too busie meddling with, or engaging the Authorities of the World, it is able to accomplish his good pleasure upon the mindes of men, to produce and establish his purposes in the World, concerning the Government of his Church. And as for the Blasphemies and Heresies wherewith some Statists amongst you have laboured to brand us; We can say, That we do own those sound Grounds and Principles of the Christian Religion, preached and held by the generality of godly Ministers and Christians of these later times; abhorring from our hearts, and being ready to bear our witness against any detestable Blasphemies and Heresies lately broken out amongst us; we have already punished some amongst us for Blasphemie, and are further ready to do it; but how ungenerously we have bin dealt with by some amongst you, and of our own Countrymen, in heaping Calumnies upon our heads, to render us vile and odious to our Brethren, yea and the whole world, we leave to God to judge, who will, we trust, in due time make these things manifest. But were Presbytery thus to be contested for, and that in us, holding it, all religion did, and would flourish; yet, how improbable it is, That the course taken by those in Authority with you, will produce the things you desire (to say no more) let your own experiences a little minde you.

What pretenders were some Lords and other persons in the North of *Ireland*, whilst they mingled the Presbyterian with the Kingly Interest; and the Ministers by their preaching, seduced the people from their Obedience to *England*, under the same pretence; But no sooner had those persons got the power into their own hands, but they shook off the Ministers, by threatnings, causing some of them to quitte the country, and in generall, discouraging the exercise of the Government there, declaring plainly by their actions, that it was but a device to draw

on the Royall Interest; and those very persons that did get power into their hands under those pretences, immediately joyned with *Owen Roe O Neal*, and those bloody *Irish* Rebels upon the Kingly Interest. It will not be unfit to minde you also, how the Nobility and some of the Ministers of *Scotland*, Preaching, and crying up a War against *England*, under pretence of the Covenant, did thereby lay the foundation to *Duke Hamiltons* getting the command of that Army, who over-numbring them in Parliament, power and friends, and by the advantage of Malignants, thrust all that you could call the good party, out of Power and Authority, himselfe getting the command of that Army into *England*, and leaving his brother and other Kinned in power in *Scotland*: Thus upon the same ground and pretence, to carry on the Kingly Interest, have you been twice deceived; and now he is brought in among you, who hath turned every stone, and tried all Friends and Allyes in Foreign parts, endeavoured commotions at home by his wicked and Malignant Instruments, commissioned *Rupert*, the *French*, and all that Py-raticall Generation, who do spoyle, take, plunder and destroy our Ships and Trade at Sea, and all to the end he might destroy the people of God, and the peace of the Three Nations: And now being by his Mother, and the Popish Interests abroad councelled thereto, hath made a compliance with you, as his last refuge, who, even whilst he was treating with you, had his heart set upon *Montrosse* and his Accomplices (writing Letters, and sending particular Orders to him) and upon his Popish Army in *Ireland*, to whom he had given Commissions, and whom he still owned as his faithfull Subjects, notwithstanding all the Innocent Blood by them shed; and would never be induced to comply, or close with the Covenant and Presbytery, till utterly disappointed of all those his Malignant and Popish hopes and confidences.

Is there not now just cause for all good men, with you, to fear, that one so bred, so engaged and interested, and meerly in such a way coming in to you, doth but watch his opportunity (to speak nothing of the weight of the Blood of Saints under the Altar, crying still for Vengeance upon him and that Family) till by his influence upon your Army (which you know how composed) he may gain his ends upon you; and how likewise the

generality of the people of *Scotland* are affected, is not unworthy of your most serious consideration, nor of a friendly intimation from us.

But that which most awakens us, is, That notwithstanding all this, and all the wrongs done to *England* from *Scotland*, they refuse to do us right; so that what wrongs soever we have, or shall sustain, must be without remedy, and we also without security for the future; as is sufficiently expostulated in the Parliament of *Englands* Declaration aforementioned, and the seeds laid of a perpetuall War, by taking our grand Enemy into your Bosoms, and your engagement to Him, in the late Treaty with Him, to restore Him to the possession of *England* and *Ireland*; and therefore we call Heaven and Earth to witness, Whether or no, we have not cause to defend our selves by hindring the present power of *Scotland*, from taking their time and advantage to impose thus upon us: And whether they have now any just reason to wonder at the approach of an Army to their borders, and the taking some of their Ships by ours; yea, whether our coming into *Scotland* with an Army, upon so clear a ground, be any other, then a just and necessary defence of our selves, for preservation of those rights and Liberties, which divine Providence hath through the expence of so much blood and treasure given us, and those amongst you have engaged, they will if they can wrest from us, unlesse it must be taken for granted, That the Parliament of *England* ought to sit still and be silent, whilst their ruine is contrived, their Friends and Brethren destroyed by Sea and Land, whom in Conscience and Duty, both before God and Man, they ought to preserve.

And now we come to speak to all those who are within the compasse of the Title of this Declaration that we undertake this businesse in the feare of God, with bowels full love, yea, full of pity to the Inhabitants of the Country; and if it shall please God to make *Scotland* sensible of the wrongs done to us, and to give to the Common-wealth of *England* a satisfying security against future injuries, we shall rejoyce. But if that may not be obtained, we shall desire such as fear God, not to joyn or have to do with those who are the Authors and Actors of so much evill and mischief against their Neighbours. And we dare say, to the praise of God, That that
which

which moves us to this great undertaking, is not any reliance upon the arm of flesh, or being lifted up with the remembrance of former successes, or the desire of accomplishing any designs of our own that we have forelaid, but the full assurance we have that our cause is just and righteous in the sight of God, looking at all precedent changes, and the successes that have produced them, not as the work of the policy or strength of man, but as the eminent actings of the Providence and Power of God, to bring forth his good will and pleasure, concerning the things which he hath determined in the world. And we are confident, that as he hath hitherto gloriously appeared, so he will still bearing witness to the righteousness of this Cause, in great mercy and pity of the infirmities and failings of us his poor Creatures. And we do most humbly implore his divine Majesty to give a mercifull testimony, whether the actings of divers men amongst you have not proceeded from worldly interests, together with the rancor and bitterness of their spirits, who we fear through envy at Instruments, have refused to acknowledge his hand and goodness in the accomplishment of these great changes; and whether ours have not come from the simplicity of our and other his poor servants hearts, who we trust, have desired (though in the midst of manifold weaknesses) to follow him in integrity, through difficult paths, having nothing but danger and ruine appearing to the flesh, and little to encourage us, saving those signall manifestations of his presence in those high acts of his Providence, and the feare of his Name, lest he going before, we should not follow.

And this we can further adde, That nothing is so predominant within us (next to our duty to God, nor to betray a cause, to which he so much witnessed) as the love we have towards those that fear God there, who may possibly suffer through their own mistakes, or our disability to distinguish in a common calamity, of which Christian love, we hope we gave some proof and testimony, when we were last in *Scotland with this Army*; and were by God made instrumentall, to break the power of those that then oppressed the Godly party there, and were then ready at their desire to do every thing on their behalfe, which might put them into the seat of Authority and Power, whose consciences knows this is true, and for which, this late Act of Engagement to their

new King against *England*, is no good requitall, nor their heaping upon us the reproach of a Sectarian Army, a Christian dealing; all which we doe with comfort commend to God, and can notwithstanding all this, say, By the Grace of God, we can forgive and forget those things, and can, and doe desire of God, that the precious in *Scotland*, may be separated from the vile, which is the end of this our Paper. And to the truth of this, let the God of Heaven in his great mercy, pardoning our weaknesses, judge of us when we come to meet our Enemies in the field; if through the perverseness of any in Authority with you, God shall please to order the decision of this Controversie by the Sword; which we from our hearts, beseech the Lord to avert, and to give you the like Christian and Brotherly affection towards us, which we by Gods grace bear towards you.

*Signed in the name, and by the appointment
of his Excellency the Lord Generall Crom-
well, and his Councell of Officers.*

JOH. RUSHWORTH, Secretary.

To

To the Generall Assembly of the Kirk
of Scotland: Or, in case of their not
Sitting, To the Commissioners of the
Kirk of Scotland.

SIRS,

Y Our Answer to the Declaration of the Army, we have
given: Some godly Ministers with us, did compose a Re-
ply, which I thought fitt to send you. That you or we,
in these great transactions, answer the will and mind of GOD:
it is only from his grace and mercy to us; and therefore having
said (as in our Papers) we commit the issue thereof to him who
disposeth all things; assuring you that we have light and com-
fort increasing upon us day by day, and are perswaded before it
be long, the Lord will manifest his good pleasure, so that all shall
see him, and his people shall say, *This is the Lord, work, and
it is marvellous in our eyes: This is the day that the Lord hath
made, we will be glad and rejoyce therein.*

Onely give me leave to say in a word, you take upon you to
judge us in the things of our God, though you know us not;
though in the things we have said unto you (in that which is
intituled the *Armies Declaration*) we have spoken our hearts,
as in the sight of the Lord who hath tryed us; and by your hard
and subtil words you have begotten prejudice in those who do
too much (in matters of conscience, wherein every soul is to an-
swer for it self to God) depend upon you, so that some have al-
ready followed you to the breathing out of their souls, others
continue still in the way wherein they are led by you (we fear)
to their own ruine: & no marvel, if you deal thus with us when
indeed you can find in your hearts to conceal the Papers we have
sent you, from your own people, who might see and understand
the bowels of our affections to them, especially such among
them as fear the Lord. And as many of your Papers as you please
amongst ours, they have free passage, I fear them not: what is of
God in them, would it might be embraced and received.

One of them lately sent, directed to the under-Officers, and
Soul-

Souldiers in the *English* Army, hath begotten from them an answer, which they desired me to send you, not a crafty politique one, *but a plain simple spirituall one*, such as it is God knoweth, and God also wil in due time make manifest, and do we multiply these things as men? or do we them for the Lord Christ and his peoples sakes?

Indeed we are not, through the grace of God, afraid of your numbers, nor confident in our selves. We could (I pray God you do not think we boast) meet your Army, or what you have to bring against us. We have given (humbly we speak it before our God, in whom all our hope is) some proof, that thoughts of that kind prevail not upon us. The Lord hath not hid his face from us since our approach so near unto you, your own guilt is too much for you to bear, bring not upon your selves the blood of Innocent men, deceived with pretences of *King* and *Covenant*, from whose eyes you hide a better knowledge: I am perswaded that divers of you, who lead the People, have laboured to build your selves in these things, wherein you have censured others, and established your selves upon the Word of God. Is it therefore infallibly agreeable to the Word of God all that you say?

I beseech you in the bowels of Christ, think it possible you may be mistaken: Precept may be upon Precept, Line may be upon Line, and yet the Word of the Lord may be to some a word of Judgement, that they may fall backward and be broken, and be snared, and be taken: There may be a spiritual fulnesse, which the world may call drunkennesse, as in the second of the Acts: there may be as wel a carnal confidence, upon mis-understood, & mis-applied Precepts, which may be called Spiritual Drunkennesse, there may be a *Covenant made with Death and Hell*, (I wil not say yours was so) but judge if such things have a politique aim, to avoid the overflowing scourge, or to accomplish worldly interests: and if therein we have confederated with wicked and carnal men, and have respect, or otherwise drawn in to associate with us, whether this be a Covenant of God & spiritual bethink your selves, we hope we do. I pray you read the 28. of *Isaiah*, fro the 5. to the 15. & do not scorn to know, that it is the Spirit that quickens & giveth life, & the Lord give you and us understanding to do that which is wel-pleasing in his sight, committing you to the Grace of God, I rest, Your humble Servant
Muscleborough 3. Aug. 1650. O. CROMWELL.

*A Vindication of the Declaration of
the Army of ENGLAND, upon their
March into SCOTLAND, from the Uncharitable
Constructions, odious Imputations, and scandalous A-
sperisions of the Generall Assembly of the Kirk of Scot-
land, in their Reply therunto.*

THe Declaration of the Army, concerning their Expedition into Scotland, having received an Answer from the Generall Assembly of the Kirk of that Nation, suitable to that Spirit, which of late hath wrought effectually in those Assemblies, for the prosecution of an Interest by them espoused, evidently destructive to the power and purity of the Gospel, Liberty, and Safety of both Nations, being filled with calumnious Reproaches and Insinuations, false and mistaken Narrations, suited to a subtile carrying on of a corrupt and desperate Design, without manifestation of any great respect had unto truth, sincerity and simplicity of Spirit, (although not without many fears of ineffectualnesse, as to the change of their mindes from their mistakes and confidences) yet we could not but judge it a duty, to remark the strange workings of fleshly Wisdom, which it is filled with from one end to another; committing the issue to the searcher of hearts, who judgeth righteously.

In the entrance of their Reply, having prefaced it with a supposed Duty (as such things as this, wil easily appear to be to persons so engaged) they reflect upon the title of the Declaration,

which they undertake to oppose, and thence deduce a twofold Inference; First, *That the Army looks upon themselves as Saints;* Secondly, *That they suppose the number of Saints in Scotland not to be very great.* Doubtless it argues an assured confidence, (and that perhaps upon former experiences) that their Dictates shall be received with an implicate consent, by those whom they labour to deceive; when in the very entrance, they hold out such groundlesse Deductions, as both these must needs appear to be, to all that shall but onely view the Inscription of that Declaration. When men are bound to believe the Generall Assembly before their own eyes and sense, such Impositions may passe; and we know not in what state (as to this) things are for the present in *Scotland*: For our part, as we see neither of them in the direction mentioned, so we are not without good assurance of the first, as to that part of the Army with whom they have to do in this Reply; and for the latter, heartily pray, if it be so indeed, That in Gods due time it may be otherwise. And as we are no way moved with that breathing of the Spirit, which acts in the Assembly, charging the wayes of the Army, as *the issues of delusion, or rashnesse, and scandalous to the Gospel* (such terms being alwayes in readinesse for the use of all sorts of Assemblies) so we suppose, That the testimony of the numerousnesse of the Saints amongst them, might have been spared, untill the practise of the power of godlinesse had laid a conviction upon their Neighbours; to have gone before them therein.

The sense of the Saints that are there, concerning the proceedings of the Army, we have indeed reason to suppose to be harsh, and unanswerable to men of that heavenly call; and that because they have too much captivated themselves to receive in upon trust, such injurious and false Representations, as in these Papers are made of them and their wayes, without inquiry into the reality of things: For deliverance from which bondage of spirit, we desire seriously to commend them to the goodness of God, and that in the use of Ordinances, and Government of Jesus Christ, which we pray, That the Generall Assembly may neither slight nor despise.

Their Christian desire of Mercy, Truth and Light, to all the Saints of *Scotland*, is in the next place retorted, with a charge of Error,

Error, Darknesse, and Loosenesse, upon them that hold it out. To assume the title of Orthodoxy and soundnesse of opinion to themselves; and upon that account, to charge others with Errors and Darknesse, hath been found in all ages, so great an advantage to any party whatsoever, that hath assumed it, that it were strange if the Generall Assembly should not use the same weapon to smite those withall, whom they seek to render odious, and destroy. But to flourish it perpetually upon all occasions, without giving any one instance of any one Error manained by them whom they so charge, or holding out no other rule to judge darknesse and error by, but their own Dictates and Determinations, is a course not a little favoring of that wisdom which is not from above.

The reference unto the Declaration of the Parliament, which nextly they reply unto, is passed over with a Magisteriall charge of the matter of that Declaration, to be *false in fact*, *unjust in Law*, with sundry other such expressions, as is evident they want not at any time, when Truth and Reason may not be at hand.

But is it *false in fact*, that the Nation of *Scotland*, breaking all Treaties, Covenants and Contracts between themselves and *England*, invaded us with a powerfull Army, to the hazard of our Lives, Liberties and Religion? Is it *false in fact*, that the Commissioners of *Scotland* took upon them, to protest against the proceedings of the supream Power of the Nation of *England*, and laboured to withdraw the people from their obedience? Is it *false in fact*, that the Parliament of *Scotland* have taken home into their bosome, him, who is the engaged enemy of this Nation, and in present actuall hostility against it? Is it *false in fact*, that they have promised, to use their endeavours to restore him, to that which they call his Right in *England*, which cannot be effected without the ruine of the Common-wealth? Are these and the like falacies in fact? Or are not those men infatuated with a strange confidence of the stupidity of the residue of men, that they dare so affirm?

Is it *unjust in Law*, that dammage being done by any, reparation and satisfaction should be required of them? Is it *unjust in Law*, for supream Magistrates to demand that, by force and

warre, which is denied by Treaties in Peace? Is it *against the Law of Nature and Nations*, that Treaties and Compacts being voluntarily entred into by severall parties; the Essentials of such Treaties and Contracts being infringed and violated by the one party, that the other thereby should be set at liberty, and be free? Is it *against the Law of Nature and Nations*, that the supream Power of the Nation, though changed into the hands of others, should be responsible for the miscarriages and damages done by the former persons enjoying that same Authority? Is it *contrary to the Law of Nature and Nations*, for a people to seek their own preservation, by preventing others from taking their advantages and opportunities, who, they are fully assured, do seek and aym at their ruine?

Truly we cannot but wonder, that men professing themselves Representators of so eminent a Church, should be so carryed away with the love of corrupt and carnall Interest, as to assert with confidence such notorious and palpable falsities. The Lord, we hope, will teach them more the feare of his great and dreadful Name, whereof they often solemnly make mention in this their Paper, before such things as these have wrought their ruine.

In the third Page, they put it out of all question; That the late King was obstinate in an evill way, and that he was guilty of more innocent blood in England, Ireland and Scotland, then any of his Predecessors. And could this Land be expiated from blood, without revenging it upon the guilty Author of its shedding? Have not the Scots more then once, for lesse crimes, taken off their Kings? &c. The Lord lay it seriously to their hearts, whether they doe well to cry Murther, Murther, and stirre up all to revenge the death of him, whom themselves acknowledge guilty of shedding the blood of so many Thousand Innocents. And for the non-compliance of that Nation with the King in any of his undertakings, the invasion in Forty Eight, with sundry actings of the Commissioners and Assemblies for divers years, will not allow us to give credit unto.

In the next place, they say, *They Will not question what the Parliament of both Kingdoms, in a case of insuperable necessity, might have done for the peoples safety* (as to the taking off the King)

King) nor the righteous judgement of God, in executing wrath upon him; so evidently granting, that indeed they might have done it. The truth is, the Parliament of *England* never needed; never owned the Authoritative concurrence of the Parliament of *Scotland*, for the disposal of those things which concern the Peoples safetie: And therefore this is to be put out of question, as to that Parliament alone: The encroaching of the *Scottish* Nation for an influence of Authority upon the Government of *England*, being by them justly abhorred. Let now the Assembly view their own Concessions, *The King was guilty of more blood in England, Scotland, and Ireland, then any of his Predecessors; he was obstinate in an evil way: in case of insuperable necessity, for the peoples safety, the Parliament might take him away: the judgement of God in executing wrath upon him, was righteous: there was a party in Parliament false to God and their trust, who did endeavour to betray the Cause into the late Kings hand,* Page the 5. (Notwithstanding his obstinacie in blood-guiltinesse, and ways of destruction to the Nation) who alone were restrained from sitting in the House: And we know not any thing, if they have not justified the whole proceedings of the Parliament and Army in reference to the late King.

That there was another way for the restraining of him, so to obtain the peoples safety: as we found it otherwise by our experience under the *Scottish* Invasion, and our own intestine insurrections during his restraint: so are not the Assembly of the Kirk, either competent or intrusted Judges of what may consist with the safetie of the people of *England*, nor is it any inducement to us to give up our selves to their determination for the future, by finding them perverted by their interest to this strange assertion: That a man guilty of a world of innocent blood, obstinate in his way, and that way inconsistent with the peoples safetie, obnoxious for blood, to the righteous judgement and wrath of God, ought to be preserved through disadvantages, even to the peoples ruine.

What securitie was given to *Scotland*, for the safetie of the Kings Person, by the Parliament of *England*, which they mention at present, we know not, but are assured, that to preserve himself against their invasions, and the insurrections by them stirred

stirred up and fomented, they were driven to the jeopardy of the well-being of the whole Nation; and, (had not God marvellously appeared for them) had perished thereby: But he who gave them deliverance from their ruine, so deeply contrived and desperately endeavoured, did thereby also free them from any obligation unto them, who had so designed, & almost effectually procured that their ruine and destruction. And that no concernment of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, in the Person of the King, would have any influence into the Parliaments disposal of the affairs of *England*, for the safety of the people thereof, hath been Remonstrated by that Parliament, though never answered by *Scotland*. Let the Assembly also consider, what Treaties and Advisoes they have had with *England* about the instating of their new King; and they cannot but suppose, that the principle of all their actings in reference to us, will be evident to all, (to wit) That by Treaties and Covenants they may do what they please: we must, what they will enjoy us.

That which follows, is an Apology for their new King, with such a Confession in his behalf, of his ill beginning to pursue destructive Designs, as we fear they have scarce obtained from himself, since his coming amongst them; neither do their expressions of *Wishing he may be humbled, and not being without hope that he may endeavour firmly to promote the ends of the Covenant*, hold out any great confidence in the Assembly of any such towardlinesse as yet discovered in him, as should make them engage into such expressions, as might be retorted on them, in case of proceeding upon insuperable necessity: But that we may not think they have no Arguments to presse his reception upon this Nation, besides his own great engagement to evil, and their small hopes of his being better, they adde sundry Reasons, why it was not well done to reject him, and change the Government.

Amongst these, the *Right of his Inheritance* hath the first place, which we affirm, not onely to be none originally without the consent of the Nation, but also to be justly forfeited by his own and Fathers destructive engagements against the Commonwealth. And therefore, we know not of any duty we owe unto him (which they secondly name) more then to any other

engaged

engaged enemy of the Land : Nor must the *compassion of his breeding*, being for a great part of his dayes in the blood and Spoil of our dearest Relations, outweigh the safety of the people, and the interest of the Saints of God, altogether inconsistent with his Rule and Government amongst us. That we might have had *the like Success with Scotland upon the like Application to him*, perhaps we do not doubt; but yet unless we can be perswaded, that there is a desirableness in giving up all that is dear to us, to the enraged cruelty of an enemy, we cannot suffer this to stand as a Motive to his Reception : And if *Scotland* finde not the truth of this, they may thank some others besides themselves. In the mean time, none truly are so fit to Prognosticate of Calamities to ensue upon our change of Government, as they who resolve and intend to be the Authors of those Calamities.

That any *honest Members of Parliament, who did ever truly minde Religion and Liberty are now sufferers in England*, we do not know; but that not any suffereth for his trust to Religion & Liberty, we are fully assured : The great suffering of Restraint which some, formerly Members, do now undergo, being onely on those whom in the following words you grant to have endeavored the betraying of the Cause into the hand of the late King : The effecting whereof, though too many of the State of *Scotland* did also what in them lay pursue, yet we cannot but rejoyce that through the good providence of God, the Net is broken, and we are escaped.

That sleight touch, which in the following words they give of the Reasons of the proceeding of Parliament and Army in the change of Government, yields not an advantage seriously to remark any thing of concernment thereabouts : Give the Assembly leave to call the *Parliament of England Unhappy*, in their own Nation, to judge of their call to any acting, to determine of the equity and reality of the Constitution of the Government of *England*, to falsifie notoriously in matter of Fact and Right, affirming, that the *Army by violence did kill the King*, that the *first motion in the House to the change of Government, was from their violence*; that the Parliament, if destitute of some of their Members, doth not Represent the whole People ; and

to intermix all these Censures and Falsities, with reviling and reproaching eloquence, and no doubt they will carry the Cause in hand.

For the *equal Representative*, which they affirm never durst be ventured upon to this day: If we should suspend our thoughts concerning it, until the Kingdom of *Scotland* do give us an example thereof: in all probability it might be more Remote from accomplishment, then we hope it is, or desire it should be.

Besides, these things relate not much unto the present difference and state of Affairs: the sole cause of their wrath and Indignation at present against us, being onely this, That after they have endeavoured our destruction, by an Hostile Invasion, refused to Treat about satisfaction (pretending they were not the persons that did it, when it was done by the Parliament of *Scotland*, which the present Powers are, and no other appears to have it demanded from) stirred up by all means possible the people of *England* to Seditions and Insurrections, laid foundations of another Invasion (undeniably manifested by their Principles, Practices and Engagements, not directly denied by themselves in any of these Papers) that we would seek by the goodness of God to prevent them from destroying us, and the Interest of the Lord Christ in our Nation, by not waiting until their own preparations at home, their Kings endeavours abroad, and the zeal of their Boatswains and Bellows of Sedition amongst our selves, should all be ripened to an unresistible foundation of War and Misery upon us: *hinc ille Lachryma*: hence is the Assemblies sorrow and trouble, that the Lord should put it into our hearts to Ward our selves through his Providence and Protection, from the snare and evil their Kirk and State have contrived for us: And hence it is, that the Declaration of the Army, written as in the presence of God, drawn out from sincerity and compassion, consented unto, and attended with many Prayers and Tears, hath received such a Return of Calumnious Reproaches, false Accusations, evil Surmisings, un-Christian Censurings, as if the Assembly were all *sat down in the seat of the Scornful*.

We confesse the series of Providences whereby God hath blessed our Affairs, is often in our mouths, and we trust far oft-
ner

ner in our hearts : And certainly , we could not but judge our selves far worse (if it be possible) then the Assembly strive to represent us, should we not continually own those most signal Providences of our gracious God, whereby he hath owned and been present with us, in all our straights and undertakings ; and we are fully assured, That he knows how to vindicate his Name and Glory, when the works that he hath wrought are not considered, and men will not see when his hand is lifted up.

If when we have waited on the Lord, sought his presence and direction with all our hearts, rolling our selves upon his Arm, he hath appeared for us, with us, delivered us out of snares, led us in paths we had not known, in Peace and Safetie ; destroying our enemies with his own right hand, giving us eyes to see, and hearts to acknowledge all this : if then we may not rejoyce in the operation of his hands, commit our way to him, embrace his love , and quiet our spirits in his Wisdom and Goodnes : we would desire the Assembly of the Kirk , from the Word of Truth, and the practice of the Saints of God that were before us, to convince us of our Error and Mistake : otherwise it is not their most unchristian comparing of the Providence of God towards *Turk* and Pope, with his special respect to them that wait for him, and know his Name, leaning upon him as a Father in Jesus Christ ; nor yet a bare false affirmation , That we rest upon Providences , because destitute of other Rules that shall take us off from speaking well of the Name of our God, and rejoycing in those things and wayes wherein he hath been our Guide and Deliverer.

There are indeed many secret and hidden causes, that prevail with the Sons of men , to slight the Appearings of God in his Providence : and we cannot but fear, That one main and chief one of them (to wit) The carrying on of Affairs by corrupt and carnal Policies, in the pursuit of *Selfish Interests*, doth possesse much the mindes of the Ruling party now in *Scotland*: for this we need no other demonstration, then the late Transactions in reference to the bringing in of their King ; wherein the Shiftings, Juglings, empty Pretences, ambiguous Expressions and Engagements, that have carried it to the issue where it now is (they supposing they have their King , and their King supposing he

hath them) cannot easily be paralleld: For the main of it, we know what their Endeavours were, to carry it on as a work of Darknesse; yet so many particulars have broken forth into light, as will one day be a testimony of deep Hypocrisie and Selfishnesse in those, whose profession required the contrary: All which delusory Pretences, violent Actings of a prevailing Faction, Hypocriticall colours, to inveigle the hearts of a party in *England*, will in due time be manifested by undenyable Instances.

When men are carryed on in such crooked paths as these, their Spirits cannot but be prejudiced against single eying of providentiall Dispensations: Though we no way question, but that if the Lord in his Infinite Wisdome and Sovereignty, should think meet to cast in any Successe upon the undertakings of the Scottish Nation, the Generall Assembly of the Kirk would be as ready as formerly they have been, to blesse themselves in their wayes from thence, and assume that liberty which they deny to others; unlesse perhaps their Deliverance should come by such a hand, as that which they had from the *Hamiltonian* party; which, though it be the bottome of their present Power and Rule, yet could not obtain a Day of Acknowledgment unto the Lord, untill wra, ped up in a Bundle with a small Successe against a Tumult raised by *Middleton*, that the Instruments of their Deliverance might not receive the least mention from them before the Lord.

There are two or three other things that deserve to be Noted by themselves, being mentioned or hinted in sundry places in these Declarations; as, First, the *Oppression of sundry persons, for their Consciences, and in their Estates*, in *England*: And is it for the Generall Assembly of *Scotland* to lay this charge against us? Doth any Nation under Heaven binde and oppress the Consciences of men beyond them? Or is there the least Truth in this charge? Have not the persons intimated the utmost extent of Liberty, for the exercise of the whole Compasse of Religion? And if any are thought to be oppressed, by being restrained from venting Sedition and Rebellion, we shall not desire that Addition to their sufferings, which we are fully assured would be laid upon any persons that should be engaged in the like practises in *Scotland*.

Another

Another thing is, their generall waving of the charge of an intended Invasion upon *England*, whereof in sum they affirm, *That notwithstanding their Engagement made to their King, of endeavouring his Restauration there, they never once intended it, unless it was determined lawfull by the Parliament and Generall Assembly.* And was there ever such a ridiculous Evasion invented by men professing honesty? Are they charged to intend a new War upon us, against the judgement of the *Kirk and State*? And do not the principles they own & act by, in reference to us, declare evidently what their judgements are? They have engaged to their King, to use all lawful means to restore him; they deny a Treaty to be such a means, boasting to their King, *That they have refused it; they professe the Parliament of the Common-wealth to be Usurpers, deny all their Authority:* And yet these men intend not an Invasion? Did they think to compass the whole Design by Insurrections amongst our selves, making way to their ends by the blood of others; Or have they dispenced with themselves to say what they please, so it may be for the advantage of the *Kirk and State of Scotland*?

The businesse of Religion shall be spoken unto in its proper place, onely in generall we cannot but observe, That the neer approaches which are made in *Scotland* to Spirituall Tyranny and outward Violence, to the utter ruine of the most Conscientious Dissenters in the least, with slavish ignorance in the people, which for the present yield them outward Peace and Conformity, not unlike that under the Inquisition, are undefireable patterns for our imitation, nor certainly are comprised within the verge of the Covenant.

It is of all things most strange to us, That they and their Statesmen should devise a Covenant to secure Religion and Liberty, and now are acting as fast as they can to hazard Religion and Liberty, to secure that Covenant: We mean that part of it which concerns the *King* and frame of Parliament. This is a strange abuse of the glorious Name of God, under colour of Religion, to prile a Covenant in the Letter of it, so as thereby to destroy the ends for which it was made; as if their Resolution were rather to lose Religion and Liberty, then not to have a *King* both of *England* and *Scotland*, to hold up that carnall

Interest which is their greatest darling: Which *King*, though he be but a Ward to the Committee of Estates in *Scotland*, yet must needs be allowed a Negative voice in the Legislative power in *England*, and so much Arbitrary power besides, as may at all times greaten the power and riches of the *Scottish* Lords. Is it not most strange, that the Covenant should be so much in their mouths and pens, and so little in their actions? who while they did but the other day declaim so much against Malignancy, as a great and dangerous sin, have now pulled in the head of Malignants, as appears by his Commissions given to Papists, and such as never came so much as formally under their Covenant: And who is so Malignant still, that they dare not trust him, farther then some Lords his Keepers will suffer him to goe: Was not Duke *Hamiltons* taking of the Covenant enough with them, to invest him with power to destroy the Covenant? And can the Vizard of their Kings taking the Covenant, perswade any man of common understanding, that he will either support their Kirk or Covenant longer, then till they have by one meanes or other (if not prevented by us) furnished him with a Covenanting Army of his own Principles? and then they will finde they will be twice catched in a Net of their own making, which they laid for others. Are not his present Darling-companions which he brought from beyond Seas, Prince *Rupert*, *Ormond*, and his Fathers and Mothers Confederates in *England*, still the onely men, that if he were foot-loose he would embrace? If they will needs blinde their eyes, and harden their hearts, we blesse our heavenly Father, that he hath opened our eyes, to see things that doe belong unto our peace, according to the direction of his holy Word.

But now to their Charge upon the Army, as to the Covenant, they say, *It did not appear that Religion and Civill Liberty was inconsistent with the frame of Parliament, and that their words in their own Book did prove no more; but, That the then actions and the frame of Parliament were inconsistent.* Be it so: This is sufficient to justifie our proceedings; if all their Liberties in *Scotland* had but one Neck and their Head smitten ready, after Sentence given upon them, to cut it off, would not they then immediately either hold his hands, or give all for gone?

Whereas

Whereas they say, *Was there no other way to help the irregularity of these proceedings?* If they had known any, it had bin as easie to have named it, as to have asked the question: But for our parts, we knew no other way. Had not the Army appeared in that nick of time, against the consenters to the Propositions at *Newport*, Religion and Liberty had been irrecoverably lost, as far as we can understand: Our consciences bear us witness, we did with exactnesse keep the Covenant, in excluding those we did.

They say further, *The Army took away altogether the lawfull Power*: we cannot beleive them til they prove it, there being now and always a lawfull Power in the Commons of *England* sitting in Parliament. And as for those that acquiesced in destructive Propositions, were they any more a lawfull Power, then Duke *Hamiltons* Faction in their Parliament? or if they will have the excluded Members lawfull Powers, what did we more then they, that put the opposite party out of power, so soon as they could by our Assistance?

That which they say concerning the Armies Proposals, *That they were destructive, and yet they would not have thought it a fit Remedy for any to have destroyed them?* We reply, First, they were but Proposals for Consideration, not determinations, as those Votes upon the Propositions were, and so there was no need of any Remedy against them, but Advice. Secondly, if the Lord had so far left them, as to have made any conclusions with the King upon those Proposals, our judgement is (as their Repentance hath already witnessed) they would have accounted it a great Mercy, by any Power to have been restrained.

They further demand, *If Liberty be preserved, how comes it then to passe, that so many groan under the yoke of their Oppressions?* Hath there been at any time a greater thraldom in *England*, then that every man must be bound to wear an Oath, &c? To this we say, We know of no such Oath that is to be sworn, the Engagement being a bare Promise, and no more; and here we are sure their charge is false in fact: And how this Engagement is a yoke of Oppression, we see not, when it is onely a Promise, To be faithfull to the Common-wealth, and the Preservers of our Liberties.

Liberties and Lives, which those that are excluded would have destroyed : Nor can we understand how this is a maintaining of unlawful Usurpations, when two of the three co-ordinate Powers did oppose, and at length exclude the King, who was the third Estate, for Male-Administration : You had your hand in the work, to assist the two Houses so to do ; and when one of the three Estates excluded two (*viz.*) the King and Lords, for their conjunction in the destructive Propositions at *Newport*, what Usurpation was this in one of the three Estates, more then was formerly in the other two ?

As for the Burthens you speak of, as an Impeachment of civil Liberties, It is the great grief of the Parliament, that they are necessitated to lay any Burthens : Yet we may desire you to remember, They lay those Burthens in an equal proportion, upon their own, as well as other mens Estates ; and we cannot but wonder, that they should be challenged by you for this, the little finger of your Lords upon your people, and which we with much bitterness call to minde, upon ours also, having been heavier then the Loyns of our Parliament.

Religion, you say, *is troden under foot, lies in the dust, is despised, as of no value.* How unbrotherly, unchristian and false a charge this is, the Acts of Parliament lately made against *Adultery, Incest, against Swearing and Blasphemy*, and the Acts for the strict keeping of the Sabbath, & for the better propagation of the Gospel in several parts of our Nation, will be a sufficient evidence ; We take Religion to be a worshipping of God according to his Word, walking in our conversations according to the Gospel, attending upon the publie Ordinances of the Word preached, publie and private Prayer and Sacraments, when administred according to the Gospel : In which, to be conversant with Humility: Faith and Reverence, is the practice of the Army.

That Religion is troden under foot, and despised of many, as we acknowledge it, so we desire to make it the matter of continuall mourning : And we think we may without presumption speak it to the glory of the free and rich Grace of God in Jesus Christ, That as much of the Spirit of Christ, and the power of Godliness is given out in *England*, as in any Nation of the world we know of.

And

And give us leave to ask you of Scotland, who alone would seem to be true Reformers, whether we have any such National sins as the compulsive joyning together of the pious with the vile, in the Administration of the Seals of the Covenant of Grace; or the corrupt and forcible Constitution of the matter of your Churches, making them up of people grossly ignorant, and very scandalous in their Lives and Conversations, and in many places having Elders little better qualified.

Page 9. they say, though they endeavor to justify their actions against the Army & Parliament of England, by the proceedings of this Kingdom, yet there is a large difference in many particulars. There is such an agreement in those particulars they rehearse, as makes these proceedings justifiable upon their grounds.

1. *There was a considerable part of the lawful Authority of England acted in these Proceedings: Was not a House of Commons a considerable part.*

2. *Many of the best affected, and most godly People in the Land consented thereunto: and when the two Houses acted without the King, there was but a Party of the People did consent.*

3. *A considerable number of Orthodox and Godly Ministers went along in those Resolutions, and you know, the plurality of the Ministers never went along with the two Houses in their opposition to the King. And if it be true that they say, that their whole Kirk consented to your ways, how came it to passe so many Ministers were excluded from their places for accession to Duke Hamiltons Engagement?*

4. *This was no protecting or promoting any Design against Religion or Government, but the carrying on of Reformation of Religion and Government, according to the Word of God.*

5. *We know of no new power set up, but the continuance of the old, they having only excluded such as were false to their trust, as you excluded Duke Hamiltons Faction.*

Page 10. As for what concerns the Presbyterial Government, whether it be to be imposed, or left free according to the Covenant: they decline that Debate, or rather defer it, till they are in better condition to prosecute such an Argument, and then there is no doubt, but their Principles and Professions will lead them thereunto: Having declared the principall end of their

assistant Forces formerly sent to *England*, to be Reformation in Religion, which in a Scottish Construction must needs be Presbyterial Government; but because they insist not upon it, we shall also leave it, and joyn with them in that undeniable position, That by Covenant we are obliged to a Government according to the Word of God, and the example of the best Reformed Churches; but we cannot hold pace with them, when they say, *That by a Synod of Divines sitting in England, it hath been made appear, that the Presbyterial Government in the Scottish Latitude, and onely it, hath its foundation upon the Word of God*: That Synod, though they have gone far enough, yet are not so through paced in that business, but cautelously express themselves in many parts of the Presbyterial Government, by saying, *Things may be done according to the Rule*; which either signifies nothing, or else this; that sometimes they may not.

They further say, That Preaching the Word of God, is not the onely means appointed by him to accomplish his pleasure upon the mindes of men, to produce and establish his purposes in the world concerning Church-Government. Certainly in the best estate of the Church, which we conceive to be the times of the Apostles, it was the onely and sufficient means; but yet we deny not but the Magistrate owes a duty to the Church and Ordinances of God, which is to preserve the Liberty and outward Peace of them, which the present Government of *England*, notwithstanding all Obliterations, ceases not to do.

Whereas the Army is charged with dealing with the Scots as Enemies, and invading them because they came not to their way; doubtless, the Army moves not upon that Principle, but this rather, That they will not suffer *England* to hold on in their own way of a Commonwealth, but have entertained a pretender to the Government of this Nation, after all his own and Fathers forfeitures, and that upon condition of using all means which they shall judge lawfull for the restoring him to the Possession thereof; which when they shall accomplish, we shall have little reason to expect, but that Religion and Liberty so much contended for, will be made a *Sacrifice to Royall Malignancy*: As for the terms of Usurpation, and insolency; we shall onely say this, They are so much in the thoughts and actions of them that write them,

them, that its no wonder that their pen misses them not.

And whereas the Army is charged as Enemies to Uniformity, notwithstanding the professed desires of Unity amongst Christians, and that their way and practices have brought forth this unparallel'd diversity of Opinions: who knows not but that it hath been very usual in all times of Reformation; especially when the Reformation is carryed on by War, for *Truth and Error, Liberty & Licentiousness*, to creep in at the same door, and if the Army have too much indulged those differences, what hinders but that they may now see (and we, by some late proceedings amongst them, know they do see) the evil of it, and are real in their desires after a Spiritual Unity, though not altogether a *Scottish* Uniformity. The Army declares likewise, that all who are for a Presbyterian Government, may have freedom to enjoy it, only not with a *Scottish* Formality, which is an absolute Independency on the Civil Power; which how it consists with that in the precedent page, where the Magistrate is required to lay out his Power for purging and settling of Ordinances, as well as preserving of them; let wise men judge; as for their keeping Courts & Jurisdictions (though they be not very Canonical Expressions, yet) no doubt, but that they may do that also over such as give up themselves that way; but if nothing will serve them, but to be universal Bishops, and challenge a general Supremacy over all the Churches of Christ, from giving our consents to any such Usurpations, we desire to be excused. As for the displacing of any Presbyterially affected, from Offices of Trust in *England*: It is denied that upon the Accompt of Presbytery any are displaced, though it may be, some have been upon the ground of Faction and Disturbance, which cleaves too close to many of that Profession.

The twelfth Page, is a bitter Pill wrapt up in a little Sugar, and its best to swallow it at once; They professe to take no delight to charge any with Blasphemies and Heresies, who are not guilty of them: What men do ordinarily and upon sleight occasions, they may be supposed to delight in; but what more usual then for all the *Scottish* Papers, to Brand the whole Army with the Name of *Sectaries*, and maintainers of all *Heresies*? whereas Charity and Justice must needs make some di-

stinction, and though they disclaim all uningenuous dealing in their charges of the Army, yet what can be imagined further from Ingenuity; then to put evil Constructions upon good Actions, as they do, in saying that the exemplary punishments they exercise upon a few, are rather for stopping of mouths, than out of zeal to God.

The thirteenth speaks of a sedulous endeavor in the Armies Declaration, to raise jealousies betwixt a good People & their King, and those who exercise his Authority: This is too poor a Design for men of Noble and Courageous Spirits, who scorn such a practice, any further then it may really tend to the disintangling of honest and well-minded men, from those plausible and politick snares, which great men use to lay for their Inferiors, thereby to serve their ends upon them: but its believed, much more pains of that kind will not be taken: *Si populus vult decipi decipiatur*: Towards the end of the same Page, here is a denial of the Ministers of *Scotland*, laying the Foundation of the *Hamiltonian* Invasion, but doubtlesse they had a strong Influence into it, daily exasperating the People against the Authority in *England*, and the Army that supported it, whereby the People were easily induced to believe, it was good service to destroy them. And the Kirk it self (notwithstanding all its pretended Innocency) did both principle and provoke them to a War, and did withdraw from that War upon those terms, only that their advice would not be taken in stating the case, and bounding the Admission of men to Employment, which the Civil Power thought to be their proper work.

The fourteenth hath a matter of Astonishment: and what is the matter? First, That the Army should professe love, and yet make War; Is it not as possible to have peace in the heart, and War in the hand, as to have War in Intention, and Peace in Expression, which is too usual? *Scotland* hath some Testimony of their Love and Bowels in (48) and is it to great a wonder they should continue until (50?) And there is no such contradiction as is supposed, betwixt their *Compassion* & this *Invasion* (as you call it, but they *Prevention*) when the end of it is the preservation of the Liberty of the people of God (so much endangered by the present practices of *Scotland*) and the carrying
of

of it on is intended to be with all possible distinction of, and favour to those that are godly and faithfull among them.

As for their carriage to *England*, by which they aggravate this unkindenesse; we well remember it, but spare to speak of it, unlesse it be lawfull to compare it to that of the Poet: *Mulior formosa superne, turpiter atrum definit in piscem*. For to let passe what formerly hath passed, it is to be beleived, that if they proceed in this present Design of bringing in their King upon us, they will blot out not onely their own former Merit, but undo the noble Achievements of all English Patriots and Parliaments, in this and former Generations; we know how easie it is to raise a Monarchicall Spirit, but how hard to keep it within the Circle?

They likewise wonder at the Assertion of the Justice of the Cause, and the Appeals upon it, which is no more (at most) then that *Confidence* admires confidence.

And now having (as they think) sufficiently baited the first Declaration, they will not suffer a little harmlesse Paper, sent in by the Army to undeceive the people (who were possessed, that not *Men*, but *Monsters* were coming in among them, from whom nothing was to be expected, but utter desolation) to go unpunished; and truly, they doe chastise it with Scorpions: And when they can finde little or nothing to say against the Matter, they fall violently upon the persons.

The first and hottest charge is, *Covenant-breaking*: To that we may say, That some supposed Breaches will be found a reall keeping of it, as to the ends of it (*viz.*) Religion and Liberty; and for the Union betwixt the Nations, which themselves have broken, we offered to have it rediategrate by Treaty, which the Scots refused: And to deny conjunction with them under their King, is no more breach of Union, then their refusal to joyn with *England* in the way of a Common-wealth: We have not found Kings such good Instruments of Union as is pretended.

The next charge is, *Their refusing to walk by the Word of God, and being led by pretended Lights and Providences*. This they disclaim, and acknowledge the Word to be their counsellor: Though they cannot so slightly look upon the Providences of

God as the *Scots* do, seeing the Works of God have a language as well as his Word, which the *Israelites* are blamed for not understanding *Psal.* 106.

The third goes deep, even to the heart, and charges them, That their *Purposes and Intentions* are not for the Honour of God, and the Kingdom of Christ, but for some concerns of their own: and a goodly Argument is there added to prove it, because *they pretend Liberty and common Safety*. This is so impertinent and injurious, that to slight it is the best Answer, unless we should thus retort it, The purpose of the *Scots* is not for publique Liberty and common Safety, but something that concerns themselves; and therefore the great wheel of their Design, is, *A Pretence of Religion and Reformation*.

The next is like unto it, charging them with *A seeming holiness, and a reall treading under foot the Truth and Ordinances of God*; giving us full assurance, *That Conscience, and a Christian spirit, were very little consulted withall in this Reply, in comparison of that cursed Maxim, Columiare fortiter aliquid adhaerebit*; which seems to be the sole Rule walked by, by them: All the particulars of this parting charge being the issues of Envy, Uncharitableness and Evill speaking.

Neither is the fifth of any better temper than those before, about their conjunction with all sorts of persons, for the pursuit of common Safety and Liberty; and therefore, bearing with different Judgements and Opinions in the things of God, which being charged on them, by those who have actually closed with him, and admitted him to the Exercise of Regall Power, amongst them, by whom are imployed all sorts of profligate wretches, blood-guilty Rebels, Popish Idolators, with whom the Assembly of the Kirk is now in actuall conjunction for the pursuit of one Design, is not of any great weight unto us; and as we could easily discharge them of this Imputation, so far as to take off all just offence, yet we cannot but declare, That we think it much better to exercise mutuall forbearance in some lesser Differences, whilst the foundation is held and kept entire, then to have amongst us an outward Uniformity, as the issue of an Ecclesiasticall Tyranny, which we wish the Assembly to free their Kirk and Nation in.

Further,

Further, The Army hath neither usurped on, or trodden under foot the Ancient Government of *England*, which in the first place is charged on them, but in their places have assisted to remove all Usurpations upon the Liberty of the People of *England*, restoring it into the hands of the Peoples *Trustees*, to whom of Right it doth belong, actually leaving it instated in the hands of that Parliament, wherein it was at the beginning of these troubles.

And as to the moulding of *Scotland* to the same frame, mentioned in the last place, the truth is, That saving the earnest desire of our Souls, that all who belong to Christ in that Nation, may enjoy the Liberties and Priviledges purchased for them by Christ, with our own Security from designed Evils, We should be very indifferent, into what mould, or fashion that Nation be framed.

Thus having laid open the manifold Mistakes, Falsities, unjust Charges, politick Insinuations, unchristian Centurings, and the like, not onely Ungospel-like carriages, but also uncivill Railings of this Paper of the Generall Assembly, We shall close with our hearty Supplications, That the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, would in his due time cast down all the earthly combinations of all sorts of men, that set up themselves and their own corrupted Interest, in the room of that Scepter of Righteousness, which he hath given into the hands of his Son.

With this foregoing, we have also seen an Answer of the Generall Assembly, to the Declaration of the Parliament of *England*, which also in due time, the Lord assisting, shall receive a full Reply.


That an Ecclesiasticall Assembly, convened for the Reiglement of the House of God, should account it their duty, as such, to put forth Manifesto's, and make Reply's to States and Armies, in things of Civil Concernment, relating to the publique Affairs of Nations, would seem strange unto us, were we not in some measure acquainted with the Constitution, actings, and assumed Power of the Assembly of the Kirk of *Scotland*, which make them justly to be reckoned to have a place among the Powers of this world, and therefore called to this Employment.

But that such a Frame and Structure of Ecclesiasticall Authority, as is at present in *Scotland* erected, such Administrations of Censures,

Censures, with corporall Penalties, and an absolute subserviency of the Secular Power of their Nation, for their pursuit and setting on, that such a worldly Jurisdiction over the men of the world, as is there exercised amongst them, is the genuine issue of Reformation, according to the Word of God, we are not as yet able to apprehend; rather it seems to favour of the old Babylonish Leaven, which in due time the Lord will remove: And we professe sincerely, That although our hearts have been often pained within us, for the many Errors and Misperceptions about the things of God, with Blasphemies and Reproaches of his Name, that have broken forth amongst us (which we hope, through his goodnesse, are already in a great measure abated) yet we cannot apprehend any such danger from them to the true Interest of the Lord Christ and the Gospel, as from such Politicall Combinations, to persecute and destroy all breaking forth of Light & Truth that suit not their present apprehension. Is it not from the misguiding of such an Interest, that their Kings taking the Covenant, is cryed up as such an acceptable Service and Worship of God, when their own hearts know full well, That he submitted unto it, as a hard Imposition in a Civill Treaty, for the change of his condition from Banishment unto a Crown; which, whither it may be looked on as the performance of a Duty in a Gospel-way, We doubt not but the Assembly will one day be able to discern.

To the People of Scotland

(Especially to those amongst them that know and fear the Lord)
from whom yesterday we received a Paper, Intituled,
From the People of Scotland, To the under-Officers
and Souldiers of the English Army, We the under-Offi-
cers and Souldiers of the English Army, do send greeting.

 **A**T the beginning of the late great and wonderful
workings of God in these two Nations of Eng-
land and Scotland, we the under-Officers and
Souldiers of the English Army now in Scot-
land, were most of us (if not all) men of privat
Callings, and not at all interested in matters of
Publique and State affairs; but yet very ma-
ny of us in whom the Lord had begun to reveal himself in the face
of Jesus Christ, were sensible of the Antichristian Tyranny that was
exercised by the late King, and his Prelates, over the Consciences,
Bodies, & Estates of the true spiritual Church of Jesus Christ, name-
ly those that were born again, and united to him by his Spirit, who
were then by that Antichristian Crue, termed Puritans, Sectaries,
Schismatics, &c. and for not conforming to all the Canons & Ordi-
nances of their National Church, were frequently imprisoned, bani-
shed, & otherwise grievously molested at the pleasure of those that
then ruled amongst us. Under these sad sufferings of the People of
God, our souls mourned, and understanding by the manifold graci-
ous promises in the Word of God, that a time of Deliverance was
to be expected to the Church of Christ, & Destruction and ruine to
Babylon, our hearts, together with all the truly godly in England,
were exceedingly stirred up to pray to the Lord even day and night,
that he would arise to destroy Antichrist, & save his People: Whilst
this spirit of prayer was poured forth upon Gods People in Eng-
land, Attempts were made upon Scotland, to bring them to a con-
formity in Religious worship, by endeavoring to impose upon them
a Popish Service-Book, which was through the great goodnes of
God by his People in Scotland rejected, which made the wrath of
the late King, and his Prelates, wax so hot against them, that Scot-

way to preserve it self, but by coming into *England*
 which the golly in *England* did not then count an
 Invasion to destroy *England* (no more than they do this our present
 march for the ruine of *Scotland*) but rejoyced to see some appea-
 ring against that Antichristian power that had persecuted the Saints,
 and were assured that the Lord was come forth to answer the ma-
 ny prayers and tears that were then poured forth for that purpose.
 And therefore, so far as we had any opportunity, furthered the de-
 signs of that Army, some of us hazarding our lives by spreading their
 Book, intitled, *The Scots Intenions and pleading for the lawfulness*
of their proceedings. Let us remember how the Lord was plea-
 sed graciously to answer the prayers of his People at that time in
 their deliverance from the Army aided by the King & his Pre-
 lates for the destruction of all the People of God in *England* and
Scotland, in so much that soon after, *Scotland* lies in peace, enjoying
 their former Liberties, without being imposed upon by the Antichri-
 stian Prelacie in *England* & *England* obtains a Parliament, to whom
 they have opportunity to complain of their grievances; and, through
 the great goodness of God, so constituted, that grievances are heard,
 and Overtures made by them to the late King for their redresse,
 which was so irksome to his oppressing, tyrannical and bloody spi-
 rit, that he again betakes himself to overthrow the Parliament by
 force: and to that end entertains the Officers of the Army that
 had gone forth against our Brethren of *Scotland*, and withdrawing
 himself from his Parliament, an appearance of a Civil War begins,
 which being made known to us, the Inferiour Officers and Souldi-
 ers of this Army (then in our private callings) we found our hearts
 extraordinarily stirred up by the Lord, to assist the Parliament a-
 gainst the King, being abundantly satisfied in our Judgements and
 consciences, that we were called forth by the Lord to be instrumental
 to bring about that which was our continual prayer to God (*viz.*)
 the destruction of Antichrist, and the deliverance of his Church
 and People. And upon this simple account, we engaged, not know-
 ing the deep Policies of worldly Statesmen, and have ever since ha-
 zarded our lives in the hie places of the field, (where we have seen
 the wonders of the Lord) against all the opposers of this Work of
 of Jesus Christ, whom we have all along seen going with us, and ma-
 king our way plain before us. And having thete things singly in our
 eye, namely the destruction of Antichrist, the advancement of the
 King-

(7)
Kingdom of Jesus Christ, the deliverance of the
Church in the establishment of his Ordinances, and
purity, according to his Word, & the just Liberties of English
men. We did many of us rejoyce at the Covenant, because we
found in it a strain to these ends. Although some being more en-
lightened, did apprehend it to be so mixt with worldly interest, that
they justly feared that the interest of Jesus Christ would be onely
pretended to, and the interest of this World, yea of Antichrist him-
self, carryed on under a vizard, as we have since had abundant expe-
rience of, which hath made us, we confesse, not to Idolize the Co-
venant (as we fear too many do) though we trust it will appear
before God, Angels and Men, that we shall ever pursue its true and
lawful ends, according to the plain and candide meaning thereof,
though we do not upon every occasion urge the Covenant (as we
see every party, though as far different as Light and Darknes, is apt
to do) the Lord having by his Word and by his Spirit convinced
us of our duty therein, though there had been no such Covenant at
all entered into.

But when we saw that under the pretence of the Covenant, A
Corrupt party in Parliament, by their worldly policy, after the
War was ended in *England*, and the late Kings Party subdued,
with the losse of thousands of the lives of Saints (whose death is
precious in the sight of the Lord) did endeavour to set up the King
upon his own tearms, and with him to establish a National Church-
Government, not in all things agreeable to the word of God, but
destructive to the just Liberties of the true spiritual Church of
Christ, which he hath by his own most precious Blood purchased
for them, and is now come forth to bestow upon them, which did
sufficiently demonstrate it self by the doings of the then Master-
builders, with the Churches of Jesus Christ in and about *London*,
that were then threatned to be dissolved, and Laws making for pre-
venting the Communion of Saints with one another, except onely
in that one publique Form then about to be established, to the great
astonishment of many of us, that had lifted up our hands to God,
and sworn to endeavour a Reformation according to the Word of
God; and therefore after much waiting upon God by prayer, and
examining our own hearts about the ends and sincerity thereof, we
were abundantly satisfied, that it was not onely lawfull, but our du-
ty to keep our Arms in our hands, till the ends before-mentioned
F 2 should

(33)
And to that purpose the Army whereof we
were at that time disbanded, did march up to *London* to propose
to the Parliament a way of establishment, that might be more for the
carrying on of the ends of Religion and Liberty, and though therein
we were not at that time successfull, yet most wonderfully and
graciously preserved by the Lord, & extraordinarily convinced (after
much seeking the face of God) that our sayling was in endeavouring
to set up the King, upon any terms; he being a man of so much blood,
that the Lord would have no peace with him, nor any that should
go about to establish him. Whereupon after his own hardened heart
had hindered him from yeelding to any overtures that were made to
him by the Parliament, through whom all the Armies Proposals were
to be tendered, And a second War more dangerous then the former
contrived by him, & his son now with you, together with those in
Scotland, that hated us of the Army of *England*, under the name of
Sectaries, being by the unspeakable goodnesse and mighty power of
God waded through, and a second testimony given from heaven to
justify the proceedings of his poor servants against that bloody An-
tichristian brood, though with the losse of many precious Saints, we
were then powerfully convinced, that the Lords purpose was to deal
with the late King as a man of blood, and being perswaded in our
Consciences, that he and his Monarchy was one of the ten hornes of
of the beast spoken off, *Revel. 17. 12, 13, 14, 15.* and being witnesses
to so much of the innocent blood of the Saints that he had shed
in supporting the beast, and considering the loud cries of the souls of
the Saints under the Altar, we were extraordinarily carried forth to
desire Justice upon the King that man of blood; and to that purpose
petitioned our superiour Officers and the Parliament to bring him to
justice, which accordingly, by a high hand of providence, was brought
to passe, which Act we are confident the Lord will own in preserving
the Common-wealth of *England*, against all Kingdoms & Nations,
that shal adventure to meddle with them upon that account. When
God executes his judgements upon malefactors, let none goe about
to resist when he brings forth those his enemies, that will not suffer
Jesus Christ to be King in the midst of his Saints, and breaks them
in pieces like a Potters vessell. Let not *Scotland*, nor any other
Nation say, what doest thou. We fear they have been too busie al-
ready; the Lord that sees the secrets of all hearts knows the compli-
ance of *Scotland* with the late Kings issue now with you, was in order
to

to disturb the Peace of *England*, for we are not
bloody Tyrant, and a supporter of the throne
fed be the Lord, the crafty are taken in their own craft,
land sits in peace, whilst *Scotland* receives into their king their
new King, at the very hour wherein an Army that had marched
three hundred miles, is facing them at the very gates; we with our
Brethren of *Scotland* (especially those that truly feare the Lord)
would consider these things, and not slight the providences of God
so much as they do; when *Scotland* chole new gods, and would have
a King out of a Family that God hath rejected, then was War in
the gates: and though we do not think providences alone a suffici-
ent rule for Gods people to walk by, yet we do know that the Lord
speaks to his people by his providences, as well as by his word; and
he is angry with his people that does not take notice thereof, and
promiseth blessing to those that doe, *Psal.* 107. and the latter end.

And here give us leave (not in a boasting spirit, but with meek-
nesse and fear) to tell you that we are perswaded we are poor un-
worthy Instruments in Gods hand to break his enemies, and preserve
his people. You have acknowledged us in your own Papers, to be a
rod of Iron to dash in pieces the Malignants, but withall, say, we
must now be broken in pieces because we now set our selves against
the lot of Gods Inheritance. Let us here speak for our selves, yea the
Lord speak for us, who knows our hearts and all our wayes, we value
the Churches of Jesus Christ, who are the lot of Gods Inheritance,
ten thousand times above our own lives. Yea we do bleſſe the Lord,
we are not onely a rod of Iron to dash the common enemies in pie-
ces, but also a hedge (though unworthy) about Christs Vineyard; and
if we know our own hearts, where ever the lot of Gods Inheritance
shall appear to be found in *Scotland*, we shall think it our duty to
the utmost hazard of our lives to preserve the same. But if there be
any that have taken counsell together against the Lord, and against
his anointed whom the Lord hath decreed to set upon his holy hill
of *Sion*, we are perswaded the Lord hath brought us hither as Instru-
ments through which he will speak to them in his wrath, and vex
them in his sore displeasure. We desire it may be known to you our
Brethren of *Scotland*, that we are not souldiers of fortune, we are
not meerly the servants of men, we have not onely proclaimed Jesus
Christ the King of Saints, to be our King by profession, but desire to
submit to him upon his own terms, & to admit him to the exercise

...to follow him, whensoever
...will entered into a Covenant of
...is he that hath thus in-
...*England* and *Ireland*, and therefore
...in the spirit of brotherly love, and of the fear of the Lord, be-
...look you to look about you, for our Lord Jesus is coming amongst
...you as a refiners fire, and as Fullers lope, and blessed are those in
...whom the least dram of sincerity shall be found.

We have seen a Paper directed to us from the people of *Scotland*,
which hath bin publickly made known to us, wherein we are first de-
sired to consider the lawfulness of our marching into *Scotland*; We
bless God we did that before we came here, and are abundantly sa-
tisfied, that we are brought hither by the Lord; Nay many of us ly-
ing under temptations of flesh and blood, and going about to frame
excuses to take us from this march, found that to have stayed be-
hinde had been to have deprived our selves of much sweet com-
munion with God, that now through his goodness we do enjoy.

We have also considered the arguments by which you go about
to weaken the grounds of the Parliaments, and our superiour Offi-
cers leading us into *Scotland*, and must needs give you this returne,
that we are still abundantly established in this believe, that what the
Parliament of *England* hath done in sending us into *Scotland*, hath
been of absolute necessity to preserve themselves from being de-
stroyed in their Religion and Liberties, which they have been at so
much cost both of blood and treasure to purchase and preserve.
And therefore by the way must needs tell you that we can not en-
dure to hear them called a pretended Parliament, which we desire
you to take notice of, that if you write to us again, you would speak
more reverently of the authority of our Nation, or else we shall
easily think you will upon every occasion be ready to invade *Eng-
land*, that you may set up an authority which you may call lawfull.

And let us as in the presence of the Lord, further assure you that
we have already examined our own consciences as before the Lord,
and have a clear assurance in our hearts that he will countenance us
in this action, and that we do not break any Covenant which we
have sworn before God, Angels, and men, but could be contented
(should we not thereby Idolize the Covenant) to march to any
Engagement with you, if call'd therunto by the Lord, with the
Covenant on the tops of our Pikes, and let the Lord judge who hath
observed

deserved the curse of the Covenant, and
knowledge we have not been the cause
willfull breakers thereof. Our enemies are above
above any thing in the world, and we are
and it is our prayer daily that which shall be the
and *Scotland*, may become one in the hand of the Lord, and joyne
together in the advancement of the Kingdom of Jesus Christ, and
throwing down and trampling upon the seat of the Beast, why
should not *Scotland* as well as *England* rejoyce to see the horns of
the Beast cut off, that we may joyn together to have the whore,
and to burn her as she is with fire.

The Lord is our witnesse (whom we fear) we come not to op-
presse you, or shed your blood, we have cryed to the Lord again and
again to prevent it, we have sent our Declarations of love to the
people of God in *Scotland*, which some amongst you, though they
pretend to answer, do most injuriously and unchristianly keep from
their sight; may most fully misrepresenting us as a people come with
intentions to destroy the poor Inhabitants, and that we are left of
our God to be destroyed, but we have made our prayer to the Lord,
and made known before him those sayings, who have told the peo-
ple of *Scotland*, that God hath forsaken us, and therefore bid them
persecute and take us; saying now the Sectari's dayes are come, &c.
But the Lord is still with us, he is our refuge & present help in trou-
ble ready to be found, we do believe the cry of the oppressed in *Scot-*
land will be heard; and woe be to those that are the cause thereof.
Our quarrell is still against Malignants, the Root whereof is now,
through the evill policy of some State-men, become the head of
Scotland. We do not quarrell with those whose hearts are upright
with Jesus Christ, and faithfull and loving to *England*, but with
those who are most treacherous and false to both: And therefore
we dare not any of us (though tempted thereto by your Papers)
be so carnally wise, as to desert the cause and work of Jesus Christ,
in which we have hitherto bin so long, & so manfully carried on;
do you think, we are men so weakly principled as to be perswaded
without the least strength of Arguments to desert the interest of our
own Nation, and expose thousands of the precious Saints of Jesus
Christ to be trampled upon as the dirt of the streets, when the
Lord is about to put on their beautifull garments, and to make
them a praise in the earth? or can we (the ke you) betray our
superiour officers in whom wee see so much of the sweet spirit

